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ARTICLE

The Dhamma wheel from Chainat, Thailand: an epigraphic excerpt from the Pali *Dhammacakkappavattana*, and related finds

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Abstract

Stone-carved "wheels of Dhamma" (*dhammacakka*s) symbolizing the Buddha's enduring teachings constitute an aesthetic corpus of objects once raised on columns set in ornate bases. These *dhammacakka*s were produced in central Thailand in the second half of the first millennium during the Dvāravatī period. Some carry Pali inscriptions which bear witness to the state of the Pali textual tradition in central Siam in the seventh to ninth centuries. Given that no Pali manuscripts from South or Southeast Asia from this early period survive, these epigraphic witnesses are extremely important. This research article presents inscriptions inscribed on a Dvāravatī-period *dhammacakka* and an octagonal pillar recovered in Thailand's Chainat province. A closer examination of the epigraphs has allowed us to give improved readings of the available fragments. This has enabled us to present what may be described as the oldest extant recension of the core passages of the Pali *Dhammacakkappavattana,* Gotama the Buddha's first teaching.

Keywords: Chainat; Dhammacakka; Dharma wheel; Dvāravatī; Dhammacakkappavattana; Octagonal pillar; Pali recension; Pali inscriptions; Thai Buddhist heritage

Prolegomena

Gotama the Buddha lived and taught about 2,500 years ago. For centuries, his teachings were passed on orally until eventually they were written down on birchbark, palm leaf, and paper, fragile materials that are unable to withstand the wear and tear of the centuries. In general, the Buddhist manuscripts that survive today belong to several traditions from different centres of Buddhist activity across Asia: from Afghanistan to Sri Lanka and from India to China. In this article, our concern is the Pali tradition that was transmitted by the Theravāda communities of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. In this tradition, the bulk of the extant manuscripts were written down in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Relatively speaking, the manuscripts or physical supports are young compared to the teachings they purport to record.

There is, however, one significant exception to this dearth of ancient written evidence for Pali – the Pali inscriptions of Southeast Asia. Texts indited on enduring materials like stone and metal from about the seventh to the ninth centuries survive in Thailand,

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Cambodia, and Burma. These epigraphs give a rare glimpse of the state of the language in this relatively early period.[1]

Pali literature is vast, and the comprehensive collections of Gotama the Buddha's teachings compiled in the "Pali Tipiṭaka" fill many volumes – 45, for example, in the standard Thai-script Syāmaraṭṭha edition (1925–28). But those who produced the Pali epigraphs did not aim to transfer onto stone or other enduring materials the entire Tipiṭaka, or even smaller units of the Pali collections. The inscriptions present key teachings or excerpts as dhamma-*cetiya*, "epitomes", or "mementos" of the Dhamma which function as shrines or potent memorials of the Dhamma.[2] The inscriptions give evidence not for the *Buddhavacana* (Word of the Buddha) writ large, but for "*Buddhavacana* in practice" – in rituals and, almost certainly, in liturgy.

Many of the epigraphs consist of a single verse or set of verses. Longer inscriptions from prose suttas (didactic episodes) are rare. The exception to this is what we will call the "epigraphic *Dhammacakkappavattana*". Attested by carved stone wheels and pillars that carry excerpts from the *Dhammacakkappavattana*, these epigraphs predate the extant manuscript evidence by a thousand years and are our oldest witness for this iconic teaching of the Buddha.

Introduction

Thailand has a special relationship with the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* or the *Discourse on Setting in Motion the Wheel of Dhamma*. What do we mean by this? First of all, a substantial number of carved stone *dhammacakka*s, some of them quite large, were produced during a period that we know today as the "Dvāravatī period" (roughly the sixth to ninth centuries).[3] They count as significant icons of Thailand's material heritage. And secondly, excerpts from the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* and related texts were engraved in the Pali language in inscriptions.

At least 40 three-dimensional Dvāravatī-period *dhammacakka*s have been recovered in Thailand.[4] They come in various sizes, some complete, some in fragments, and are finely carved with intricate and interlocking vegetal and geometric patterns; they constitute an

[1] In the absence of any "absolute chronology", "early" and "late" are relative and subjective. From the viewpoint of Pali's history as a canonical language, they might belong to a middle period, from the viewpoint of Pali as a written language, they may be deemed "early".

[2] Dhamma or Dharma in Sanskrit here refers to the teachings of the Buddha. As this article deals with Pali texts, we choose to use Pali rather than Sanskrit spellings for consistency except when we refer to specific citations in Sanskrit.

[3] On Dvāravatī and "recent" discoveries and research at the time of publication, see Peter Skilling, "Dvāravatī: recent revelations and research", in *Dedications to Her Royal Highness Princess Galyani Vadhana Krom Luang Naradhiwas Rajanagarindra on Her 80th Birthday* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2003), 87–112; for its early historiography, see H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Dvāravatī: The Earliest Kingdom of Siam (6th to 11th Century A.D.)* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1969); for a brief overview of Buddhist practices and rituals in Dvāravatī see Nicolas Revire, "Glimpses of Buddhist practices and rituals in Dvāravatī and its neighbouring cultures", in Nicolas Revire and Stephen A. Murphy (eds), *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology* (Bangkok: River Books and the Siam Society, 2014), 238–71; for other archaeological finds and topics related to Dvāravatī, see Anna Bennett and Hunter Watson, *Defining Dvāravatī* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2017). See also Stephen A. Murphy, "The case for proto-Dvaravati: a review of the art historical and archaeological evidence", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 47/3, 2016, 366–93.

[4] Robert L. Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law and The Indianization of South East Asia* (Leiden, New York and London: Brill, 1996), xxvi and note 37, and for images of these *dhammacakka*s, see Figures 1 to 42; for a general overview of Dvāravatī *dhammacakka*, see Phasook Indrawooth (ผาสุข อินทราวุธ), *Dvāravatī Dharmacakra* / ทวารวดีธรรมจักร (Bangkok: Saksopa Press, 2008 [2251]); for an early interpretation, see Dhanit Yupho, *Dharmacakra* (*The Wheel of the Law*) (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, Sixth Edition 2015 [1965]); and for *dhammacakka* in Dvāravatī art, see Surasak Srisam-ang (สุรศักดิ์ ศรีสำอาง), *Dvaravati Art: The Early Buddhist Art of Thailand* (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department / Embassy of France, 2009).

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aesthetic corpus of symbolic objects that were once raised on columns set in decorated bases. The *dhammacakka* or the expression of a turning *dhammacakka* (as the name of the Sutta implies)[5] denotes the beginning of the Buddha's enduring teachings that lead one to liberation from pain and suffering, to everlasting bliss and peace, or *nibbāna* (Sanskrit: *nirvāṇa*). It is said that the wheel cannot be stopped by any being whether celestial, non-celestial or even the chief of evil himself, Māra.[6] These *dhammacakka*s are found mainly in today's central Thailand, for example, in the provinces of Lopburi, Suphanburi, Chainat, Nakhon Pathom, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, and Nakhon Sawan. However, only a handful, approximately twelve at present count, of these *dhammacakka*s bear inscriptions.[7]

For a period of perhaps 200 years, Dvāravatī Buddhists chose to engrave Pali texts on stone for public display and to inscribe Pali passages and deposit them within reliquary containers. Many of these texts were short, often a single stanza like the *ye dhammā* verse. As mentioned, one of the longest texts to be inscribed consists of core passages from the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*. In this way, Siam is unique in that several epigraphic witnesses of the Pali *Dhammacakkappavattana* have been preserved.[8] Parts of the text were incised in Pali, sometimes on the felloes or on the spokes of the Dhamma wheels, sometimes in the spaces between the spokes or on other surfaces. The large Dhamma wheels did not, however, fare well across the centuries; surviving examples are broken with the unfortunate result that the inscribed texts are incomplete.

An example is the large broken Dhamma wheel that was found in Manorom district in Chainat province. This *dhammacakka* bears inscriptions of an important section of the *Dhammacakkappavattana.* Previously, information about this inscription and its related finds was based on the reading of Chaeme Kaewkly (ชะเอม แก้วคล้าย) in 1991.[9] However, the reading is not complete and in certain parts is doubtful.[10] In 2000, U-tain Wongsathit (อุเทน วงศ์สถิตย) published a further reading of the octagonal pillar.[11] Despite that, in order to obtain a clearer reading for the entire repertoire of inscriptions of the Chainat wheel, we visited the Chainatmuni National Museum in Chainat province in August 2023 and March 2024, and re-examined them. In this article, we present improved readings of the inscription and attempt to reconstruct an epigraphic recension of this important section of the *Dhammacakkappavattana*. In reconstructing this recension, we make note of the readings of the *dhammacakka* preserved in Newark Museum, New Jersey, USA, which is hypothesized

[5] Cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Part V, *Mahā-vagga*, ed. Léon Feer (London: The Pali Text Society, 1976 [1898]), 423.19–20 (numbers behind the stop indicate line numbers), *bhummā devā saddam anussāvesuṃ: etaṃ bhagavatā bārāṇasiyam isipatane migadāye anuttaraṃ dhammacakkam pavattitam* (the earth-dwelling devas raised a cry: "At Bārāṇāsi, in the Deer Park at Isipatana, this unsurpassed Wheel of the Dhamma has been set in motion by the Blessed One", translated by Bhikkhu Bodhi. See Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, translated from the Pāli by Bhikkhu Bodhi* II (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 1846.

[6] Feer, *Samyutta Nikāya* 5, 423.17–22.

[7] For a discussion of selected inscriptions on *dhammacakka*s, see Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 96–120.

[8] Laṅkā does not have any early Pali inscriptions. Burma has many, from about the same period, but so far as we are aware they do not include the *Dhammacakkappavattana.*

[9] Chaeme Kaewkly, "Appendix: Dharmachakra inscription and octagonal pillar", in *Archaeology of U-Ta Pao City* (Bangkok: Archaeological Site Survey Project, Fine Arts Department, 1991), 179–82 (in Thai) / ชะเอม แก้วคล้าย, "ภาคผนวก: จารึกธรรมจักรและเสาแปดเหลี่ยม", ใน โบราณคดีเมืองอู่ตะเภา (กรุงเทพฯ: โครงการสำรวจแหล่งโ บราณคดีฝ่ายวิชาการ กองโบราณคดี กรมศิลปากร, 2534).

[10] Faulty readings include, on the pillar, *sā* instead of *so; dimata* instead of *da*[*ṃ*] *mataṃ*, see Peter Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XXIII, 1997, 136 and notes 13–15.

[11] U-tain Wongsathit, "Octagonal pillar inscription from Chainat: the oldest inscription recording Abhidhamma Aṭṭhakathā text in Thailand", *Dhammadhara Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 6/1, 2020, 56–77 (in Thai) / อุเทน วงศ์สถิตย, "จารึกเสาแปดเหลี่ยมชัยนาท: จารึกอรรถกถาอภิธรรมที่เก่าที่สุดในประเทศไทย", วารสารวิชาการทางพระพุทธศาสนา ปีที่ 6 ฉบับที่ 1 (ฉบับรวมที่ 10) ปี 2563. There are some minor differences between U-tain's readings and ours given in this article.

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to be from Si Thep in Phetchabun province,[12] as well as the corresponding texts from two printed editions of this sutta, namely the Siamese King Rama V edition (RV), and the Pali Text Society's (PTS) *Saṃyutta Nikāya* Volume V (S5).[13] The Chainat recension, dating back to the second half of the first millennium, would be the earliest surviving material evidence of the sutta in the Pali language as it circulated in central Siam. We also include new readings of the spokes of the *dhammacakka* as well as the octagonal pillar that, we believe, was used to support this wheel.[14]

The *Dhammacakka* from Chainat

The Chainat wheel is ornate with decorative motifs. Unfortunately, it is broken (whether it fell down or was toppled cannot be determined), and slightly less than half of the wheel survives (Figure 1). The wheel's history is not entirely clear. According to Chaeme Kaewkly, then an officer of the National Library, the library received an urgent note dated 24 October 1988 together with nine sheets of photocopied notes announcing the discovery of a *dhammacakka* and a fragment of an octagonal pillar in Chainat province, both with inscriptions. The Fine Arts Department then dispatched officers from the Archaeological Division to investigate the site. According to the report, the artefacts were found in a field in Village No. 5, Hang Nam Sakhon, Manorom district. At that time, the field belonged to a local medical doctor, Samnuan Palawatwichai (นายแพทย์สำนวน ปาลวัฒน์วิไชย), whose workers stumbled upon these artefacts while working in the field. Later in 1990, further excavation carried out by Charuk Wilaikaeo (จารึก วิไลแก้ว) revealed a circular platform in two different brick layers, 7 metres in diameter and 37 centimetres in height (Figure 2).[15] This solid base seems suited for holding up a stone pillar with a large *dhammacakka* of around 180 centimetres in diameter. Other finds scattered around one to four metres from the base, at a depth between 20 and 140 centimetres below the surface, included fragments of the spokes from the wheel, parts of the ear, nose, and mouth of a deer statue or deer statues, and broken pieces of the wheel of various sizes. Approximately ten sherds of pots and basins lying around the base were picked up as well.[16]

The find spot of the *dhammacakka* is located between two moated archaeological sites with ramparts, 1.7 km slightly southwest of Muang Nakhon Noi and 1.8 km northeast of U-Ta Pao within the Manorom District in Chainat. U-Ta Pao lies on the edge of the Hang Nam Sakorn waterway and is a relatively flat area. Dvāravatī-period objects were recovered west, east, and south of the town – for example, ancient structures, sherds of

[12] The reading of the Newark *dhammacakka* is our own, based on photographs provided by the Newark Museum. Here we would like to thank the Newark Museum for providing us with photographs of the "*Dharmachakra*, the Buddhist Wheel of Law", in their collection. Our full reading and discussion of the Newark *dhammacakka* will be published separately in a forthcoming article. Here, we also take into account the reading published by Brown which is based on the reading of Anchana Chittasuttiyam (Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 106–8). Brown proposes that the provenance of this Newark *dhammacakka* is Si Thep; this is based on stylistic comparison with other wheels from Si Thep (Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 106 and note 55). It is not clear at the moment whether there is any further evidence beyond Brown's hypothesis.

[13] The RV edition is the oldest printed version in Siam printed in 1894, with the exception of the earlier *Suatmon Chabab Luang* edited by Sangharāj Pussadevo.

[14] The pictures in this article, unless otherwise stated, were taken by the authors and/or the Fragile Palm Leaves field team.

[15] Charuk Wilaikaeo, "Archaeological work at U-Ta Pao, Chainat Province", *The Silpakorn Journal* 34/2, 1991, 49 (in Thai) / จารึก วิไลแก้ว "โบราณคดีเมืองอู่ตะเภา" ศิลปากร นิตยสารทางวิชาการของกรมศิลปากร กระทรวงศึกษาธิการ ปีที่ 34 เล่มที่ 2 พุทธศักราช 2534; The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of Meuang U-Ta Pao, Archaeological Division document number 3/2534 (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, 1991), 10–35 / โบราณคดีเมืองอู่ตะเภา, โครงการสำรวจแหล่งโบราณคดี ฝ่ายวิชาการ กองโบราณคดี กรมศิลปากร เอกสารกองโบราณคดีหมายเลข 3/2534.

[16] The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of Meuang U-Ta Pao, 183, illustrated in 21–34. Fragments of the deer statue are not on display in the Chainatmuni National Museum.

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Figure 1. The Chainat *dhammacakka*: slightly less than half the original wheel survives.

Figure 2. Brick base of the Chainat *dhammacakka* (Photo after: Charuk Wilaikaeo "Archaeological work at U-Ta Pao", 9)

earthenware, and numerous silver coins stamped with the conch shell or the rising sun with *śrīvatsa* symbols.[17] At the northern side of this ancient town, iron slag and kilns were found indicating activities dating from the prehistorical period.[18] The *dhammacakka* site could have served as a place of veneration for local inhabitants and visitors from outside.

[17] For illustrations of 32 of these silver coins from U-Ta Pao preserved at the National Museum in Bangkok, see Wipada Onwimol (วิภาดา อ่อนวิมล), *Coinage in Thailand During 4th–11th Century AD* (MA thesis in Thai, Silpakorn University, 2018), 135–51 / นางสาววิภาดา อ่อนวิมล เหรียญตราในประเทศไทยช่วงพุทธศตวรรษที่ 9-16, วิทยานิพนธ์ศิลปศาสตร์มหาบัณฑิต มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร 2561.

[18] For further information on U-Ta Pao archaeological site, see Charuk Wilaikaeo, "Archaeological work at U-Ta Pao", 4–50 (two pages of abstract in English, 49–50; The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of Meuang U-Ta Pao (report in the Appendix in English, 183).

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Chainat and its neighbouring provinces preserve a string of Dvāravatī period sites where significant remains and artefacts have been uncovered. This area, consisting of Kamphaeng Phet, Pichit, Pitsanulok, Nakhon Sawan and the upper part of Chainat province, is called the "Upper Chao Phraya Basin".[19] Sites in this basin include U-Ta Pao in Chainat, as mentioned earlier; Khok Mai Den[20] and Muang Bon,[21] Thap Chumpon, Chan Sen, and Dong Mae Nang Muang in Nakhon Sawan; and Khao Kalon in Kamphaeng Phet (Figure 3).[22] The main waterways are the Lower Ping River, the Lower Yom–Nan River, and the Chao Phraya River. These river systems and their tributaries would have facilitated circulation throughout the area.

Dr Samnuan was a local enthusiast for antiquities and the *dhammacakka* findings went under his care. He built a museum to house his collections and he kept the wheel there. When he passed away, his collections went to his family. According to an officer at the Chainatmuni Museum, in 2018 the wheel and associated finds were presented by Dr Samnuan's sister to Her Royal Highest Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, who then passed them over to the Fine Arts Department. Since 2018 they have been preserved at the Chainatmuni National Museum in Chainat.

The Chainat Dhammacakka *(Cn) inscription*

Script	Southeast Asian Brāhmī
Language	Pali
Date	Seventh century CE (twelfth century Buddhist Era) (*Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016)
Inscribed text	Along the felloes of the wheel on both sides and on the spokes
Support	Stone
Dimensions	Width of the rim ~ 18.5–19.0 cm (see Figure 4) Inner diameter of the wheel ~ 161 cm Outer diameter of the wheel ~ 180 cm Thickness of the wheel (widest) ~ 13 cm Figure 5 fragment 1.1: 9.5 cm; fragment 1.2: 28.0 cm; fragment 1.3: 22.0 cm; fragment 1.4: 111.0 cm; fragment 5: 7.0 cm; fragment 6: 26.0 cm; fragment 1.7: 26.0 cm. (Fragment 1.1 has only one side with an inscription, the verso has broken off. The text on fragment 1.1 does not fit directly with fragment 1.2. These measurements are based on the length of the felloes with inscription.) Inscription size (H): 3.0 cm to 7.5 cm (based on the convex surface of the felloe)
Record number	CN. 14
Date of discovery	5 October 1988
Place of discovery	Village No. 5, Hang Nam Sakhon, Manorom District, Chainat Province, Thailand
Discoverer	Dr Samnuan Palawatwichai

[19] See Stephen A. Murphy and Pimchanok Pongkasetkan, "Fifty years of archaeological research at Dong Mae Nang Muang, an ancient gateway to the Upper Chao Phraya Basin", *Journal of the Siam Society* 98, 2010, 54.

[20] Banjop Tiamtat, "Report on excavation of ancient objects", in *Some Recently Discovered Sites of Dvāravatī Period and Report on Excavation of Ancient Objects in Khok Mai Den, Phayuha Khiri District, Nakhon Sawan Province* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1965), 19–26 (in Thai), Map 1–2, Figures 1–96. / บรรจบ เทียมทัด "รายงานการขุดแต่งโบราณวัตถุสถาน"ใน โบราณวัตถุสมัยทวารวดีแห่งใหม่ และ รายงานการขุดแต่งโบราณวัตถุสถาน ณ บ้านโคกไม้เดน อำเภอพยุหะคีรี จังหวัดนครสวรรค์. 2508. กรมศิลปากร.

[21] H.G. Quaritch Wales, "Muang Bon, a town of northern Dvaravati", *Journal of the Siam Society* 53/I, 1965, 1–6.

[22] For a brief description of these sites, see Murphy and Pimchanok Pongkasetkan, "Fifty years of archaeological research at Dong Mae Nang Muang", 49–74.

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Figure 3. Some Dvāravatī sites in the Upper Chao Phraya Basin

Present location	Chainatmuni National Museum, Chainat Province
Images	Figures 4, 5, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 6, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 7, and 15

Publication history
1. Chaeme Kaewkly, "Dharmachakra inscription and octagonal pillar", 179–82;
2. Charuk Wilaikaeo, "Archaeological work at U-Ta Pao", 4–50;
3. The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of Meuang U-Ta Pao, 10–35.
4. Christian Bauer, "Notes on Mon epigraphy", 48–55 (palaeographic analysis);[23]

[23] Christian Bauer, "Notes on Mon epigraphy", *Journal of the Siam Society* 71/1, 1991, 31–83.

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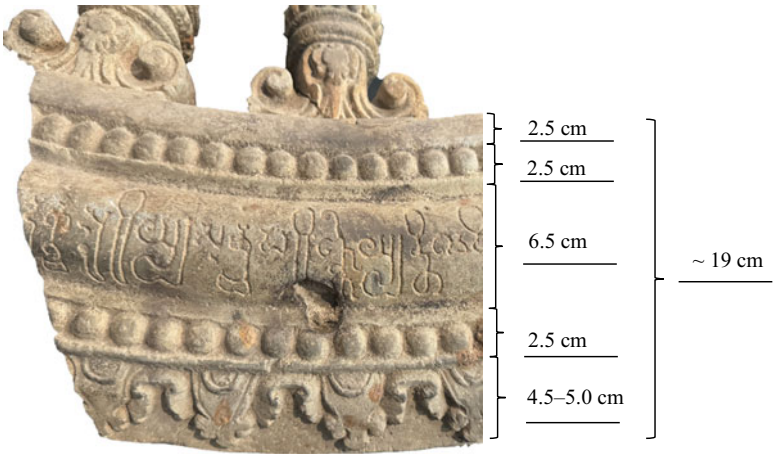

Figure 4. Measurements of the rim

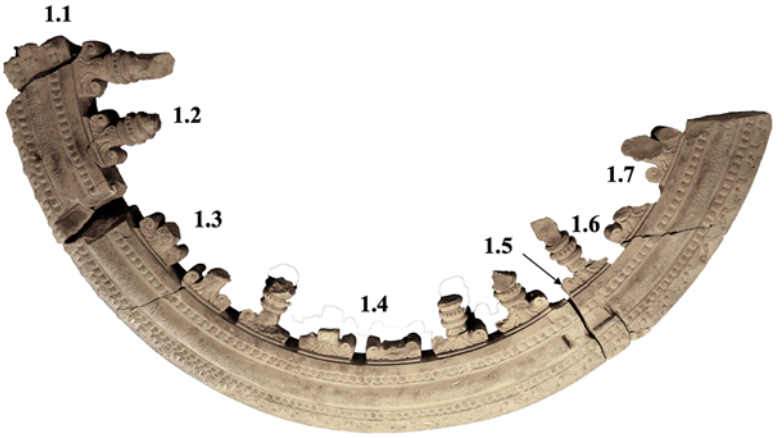

Figure 5. Side 1 of the Chainat *Dhammacakka*

5. Chaeme Kaewkly, "Pali inscriptions in Pallava script", 40–53;[24]
6. Peter Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 133–51;
7. *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016, 182–8.

Design of the wheel

The rim of the Chainat *dhammacakka* is about 19 centimetres wide. The felloe is surrounded by inner and outer bands of pearls, a fairly common feature seen in *dhammacakk*as found elsewhere in Thailand, for example, at Si Thep in Phetchabun province, and at several sites

[24] Chaeme Kaewkly, "Pali inscriptions in Pallava script on a wheel of Dhamma and an octagonal pillar of the 7th century AD", *The Silpakorn Journal*, 43/1 (January–February 2000), 40–53 (in Thai, 2 pages of abstract in English) / จารึกธรรมจักรและเสาแปดเหลี่ยม พบที่จังหวัดชัยนาท อักษรปัลลวะ ภาษาบาลี พุทธศตวรรษที่ 12. ชะเอม แก้วคล้าย. ศิลปากร. ปีที่ 43, ฉบับที่ 1 (ม.ค. – ก.พ. 2543), หน้า 40–53.

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Figure 5.1. Side 1, fragments 1.1 and 1.2

Figure 5.2. Side 1, fragment 1.3, and fragment 1.4 (partial)

in Nakhon Pathom and at U-Thong in Suphaburi.[25] While the felloes between the bands of pearls in most of these wheels are generally flat and filled with patterns of various kinds,[26] the felloe of this Chainat *dhammacakka* is convex, plain without any pattern, but inscribed with text, which is unique in its own way.[27] The outer edge of both sides of the felloes, above the outer band of pearls, is decorated with a distinctive "foliage growth"-like pattern

[25] For example, the Si Thep *dhammacakka*s preserved at the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum in Sukhothai, and the one in Police General Snong Wattanavrangkul's private collection. There are also several *dhammacakka*s from Phra Pathom Chedi, and the wheel excavated from Kampheng Saen in Nakhon Pathom.

[26] For discussion of the various patterns of the *dhammacakka*s in Thailand and their relationship to Indian and Khmer art, see Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 138–74. See also Chedha Tingsanchali, *Patterns in Dvāravatī Art: A Study of Their Origination and Influence from Indian Gupta and Vakataka Art* (Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 2020) (in Thai) / ลวดลายในศิลปะทวารวดี, การศึกษาที่มาและการตรวจสอบกับศิลปะอินเดียสมัยคุปตะ—วกาฏกะ ๒๕๖๕ (๒๕๕๓)เชษฐ์ ติงสัญชลี. กรุงเทพมหานคร 2020; on comparison between Dvāravatī and Khmer art, see H.G. Quaritch Wales, "Recent Dvāravatī discoveries and some Khmer comparisons", *Journal of the Siam Society* 68/1, 1980, 43–54.

[27] Except for the fragment of a wheel from Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat, Lopburi. We discuss the provenance of this fragment later in this article.

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Figure 5.3. Side 1, fragment 1.4 (partial)

Figure 5.4. Side 1, fragment 1.4 (partial)

flanked by projecting-leaf designs.[28] The spoke displays a kind of Greek ionic-capital design attached to the rim of the wheel. Each spoke comes with three rings before the column, with the middle ring slightly larger and decorated with a band of pearls. The columns of the spokes were inscribed with text. This Greek ionic-capital design of the spoke appears to be a common feature among the Dvāravatī *dhammacakka*s as well.

[28] The term "foliage growth" pattern was coined by Brown; for further discussion see Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 154–6.

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Figure 5.5. Side 1, fragments 1.6, and 1.7. The small fragment 1.5 is not shown here as the text is completely abraded

Inscriptions of the wheel[29]

Readings, side 1

1.1 su dhammesu cakkhu[+]
1.2 dukkhaṃ ariyyasaccaṃ pariññeyyanti me bhikkhave
1.3 (pā)di paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi
1.4 āloko udapādi || pariññātanti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paṃññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi || idaṃ dukkhasamudayo ariyya [+ + +]
1.5 [+ + +]
1.6 [+] ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi
1.7 ñāṇaṃ udapādi paṃññā udapādi vijjā udapādi

() indicates the inscription is unclear or partly readable/intelligible; [] indicates the inscription is abraded or missing.

Readings, side 2

2.1 udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi
2.2 taṃ kho panidaṃ dukkhanirodho ariyya
2.3 saccaṃ
2.4 (sa)cchikātavvanti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇa(ṃ) udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi (ālo)ko udapā[di] [sa]cchikatant(i) me bhikkhave (pu)
2.5 vv(e) ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhu(ṃ) uda[+]
2.6 ... (completely abraded)

() indicates the inscription is unclear or partly readable/intelligible; [] indicates the inscription is abraded or missing.

[29] Palaeographically, there is almost no difference between retroflex *ṇa* and dental *na*. We will interpret the script based on the intended spelling of the word.

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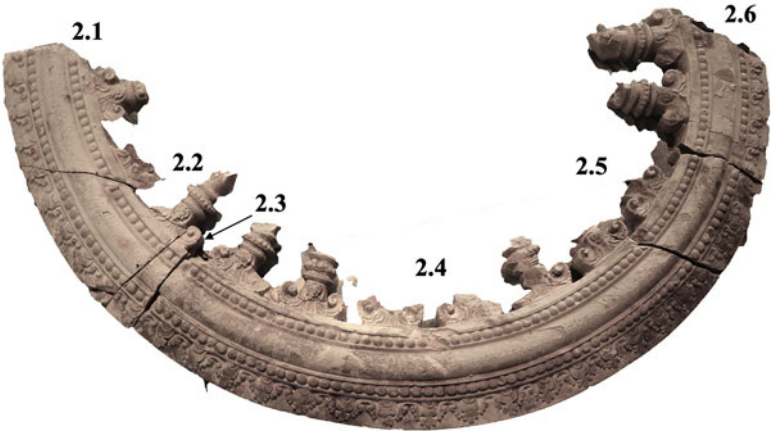

Figure 6. Side 2 of the Chainat *Dhammacakka*

Figure 6.1. Side 2, fragments 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3

The text

The text inscribed on the felloes of the wheel gives a passage from the Pali *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* regarding the four realities for the noble ones (*ariyasacca*): suffering (*dukkha*), its origin (*samudaya*), its cessation (*nirodha*), and the path leading to this (*gāminī paṭipadā*) in three phases (*tiparivaṭṭa*, literally in three cycles) and twelve aspects (*dvādasākāra*).[30] In this discourse, the path leading to the cessation of

[30] Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya* 5, 422.3–33. *Ariya-sacca* has been translated as "noble truth" for so long that it has become a standard translation that is rarely questioned. Anālayo prefers not to translate *dukkha* and keeps the Pali term in his writing. Peter Harvey renders the four *ariya-sacca* as the four true realities for the spiritually ennobled, see Peter Harvey, "The four ariya-saccas as 'True realities for the spiritually ennobled' – the painful, its origin, its cessation and the way going to this – rather than 'noble truths' concerning these", *Buddhist Studies Review* 26/2, 2009, 197–227, doi: 10.1558/bsrv.v26i2.197. See also Peter Skilling, *Buddha's Words for Tough Times, An Anthology* (New York: Wisdom Publications, 2024), 343, and Karl Brunnhölzl (trans.), *Gone Beyond: Prajñāpāramitā*

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Figure 6.2. Side 2, fragment 2.4 (partial)

Figure 6.3. Side 2, fragment 2.4 (partial)

suffering is the eightfold path (*aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*).[31] Each of the realities is applied in three phases:

1. The knowledge of each reality (*saccañāṇa*), for example, "Suffering; this is the reality for the noble ones".
2. The knowledge of the task to be accomplished regarding each reality (*kiccañāṇa*), for example, "Suffering; this reality for the noble ones is to be fully understood".
3. The knowledge of accomplishment regarding each reality (*katañāṇa*), for example, "Suffering; this reality for the noble ones has been fully understood".[32]

Sūtra, The Ornament of Clear Realization, and Its Commentaries in the Tibetan Kaygü Tradition 1 (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2010), 680–81 and note 4.

[31] In the sutta, *magga*, path, is used interchangeably with *paṭipadā*, practice. The eightfold path consists of right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration (Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya* 5, 421.12–15).

[32] Cf. F. L. Woodward (ed.), *Sārattha-ppakāsinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on The Saṃyutta-Nikāya III* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1937 [1977]), 297, 25–36; and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, 1962, note 382.

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Figure 6.4. Side 2, fragment 2.4 (partial)

When these three phases are applied to each of the four realities for the noble ones, they are presented in twelve aspects (*dvādasākāra*).

Buddhist Sanskrit parallels to this passage on the three phases (*triparivarta*) and 12 aspects (*dvādaśākāra*) are preserved in the *Mahāvastu* (Mv), the *Lalitavistara* (Lal), and in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.[33] In these Pali and Sanskrit texts, the Buddha declares that when his knowledge and vision of these four realities for the noble ones as they really are (*yathābhūta*) in their three phases and twelve aspects was thoroughly purified (*suviśuddha*) and he fully knew (*abhyajñāsiṣa*) them in this way, then only did he claim to have awakened to unsurpassed perfect enlightenment in this world.[34] The Buddha announced

[33] Émile Senart (ed.), *Le Mahāvastu, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire* III (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), 332.4–333.16; P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Lalita-Vistara* (Darbhanga: The Mathila Institute, 1958), 303.19–34 (Chapter 26); for the differences in this passage between Mv, Lal, and the Pali version see J.J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu,* Volume III, *Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit* (London: Luzac & Company, 1956), 326 and note 3; for the parallels to the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* preserved in Chinese, see Anālayo, "The Chinese parallels to the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (1)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 3, 2012, 12–46 and Anālayo, "The Chinese parallels to the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (2)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 5, 2013, 9–41; for the list of Sanskrit versions for the *Dharmacakrapravartana-dharmaparyāya* in the Vinaya of Mūlasarvāstivāda (*Saṃghabhedavastu*) and other sources (i.e. in *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and as an independent single sutra), as well as the comparison between the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions (preserved in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese), see Jin-il Chung, "Dharmacakrapravartana-dharmaparyāya of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda Tradition", in Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters (eds), *Jaina-itihāsa-ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag* (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2006), 75–101; Raniero Gnoli (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivadin,* Part I (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977), 135–9. Notably, the *Dhammacakkappavattana/Dharmacakrapravartana* were also transmitted as an independent single sutra/sutta in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, and Pali (see listing in Chung, "Dharmacakrapravartana-dharmaparyāya", 77, B). For Pali, there are more than 150 palm-leaf manuscripts under the name *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* preserved at the National Library of Thailand alone.

[34] Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya 5*, 23.4–9; Senart, *Le Mahāvastu*, 333.13–16; Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara*, 304.3–6; Chung, "Dharmacakrapravartana-dharmaparyāya", 82; see also Kazunobu Matsuda, "Sanskrit text and Japanese translation of the Buddhacarita Canto 15 [The First Dharmacakrapravartana]", *Bukkyō daigaku*

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Figure 6.5. Side 2, fragment 2.5

that these realities had never been heard before (*pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu*). This means that they were not part of the received knowledge of his time – he had not learned about them from anyone else but had realized them directly beneath the Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya.

The importance of this *dvādasākāra* passage is underscored by a similar statement that is transmitted as an independent sutta, the *Tathāgata Sutta* (SN56.12). In the *Tathāgata Sutta*, Gotama the Buddha universalizes his enlightenment experience of the four realities for the noble ones in three phrases and twelve aspects by rephrasing it as the realization of all buddhas (*tathāgatā*) showing that it is not limited to just his own experience.[35] This implies that all past and future Buddhas discover and teach the same four realities in the same way.

Sources of the Pali Dvādasākāra *passage in printed editions*

The *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* in the Pali language is preserved in different genres of texts in the Pali Tipiṭaka. A partial list of printed editions that contain the *dvādasākāra* passage follows: [36]

1. The *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (Connected Discourses) Pali editions:

i.	RV	Thai script, the Rama V edition, *Phra Suttantapīṭaka Saṃyuttanikāya, Mahāvāravagga, Sacca-saṃyutta, Dhammacakkappavattana-vaggo dutiyo* Ratanakosin Era 113 (Bangkok: 1894), 402.19–403.21.
ii.	S5	Roman script, Léon Feer (ed.), *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Part V, *Mahā-vagga* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1898), 422.3–30.
iii.	CST	Burmese script, *Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakaṃ, Suttapiṭake Saṃyuttanikāye, Mahāvaggasaṃyuttapāḷi* (Rangoon: Marammaraṭṭhe Buddhasāsana Society, 1957), 369–70.

bukkyō gakkai kiyō (*The Bulletin of the Association of Buddhist Studies, Bukkyo University* 25, 2020, 81–98 / 松田和信, ブッダチャリタ第15章「初転法輪」 – 梵文テキストと和訳 –, 佛教大学仏教学会紀要 25号, 27-44,2020/03/25.

[35] *Tathāgata Sutta*, see Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya* 5, 424.13–425.12 (SN56.12).

[36] Page numbers indicate the locations of the *dvādasākara* passage. Figures that follow the stop indicate the line numbers of the quoted page.

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Figure 6.6. Side 2, fragment 2.6. Note that the small fragment on the right (side 2 of fragment 1.1) is broken off

2. Vin I, H. Oldenberg (ed.), *Vinaya Piṭaka* Vol. I, *the Mahāvagga* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1997 [1879], 11.1–18.
3. Paṭis II, Arnold C. Taylor (ed.), *Paṭisambhidāmagga II* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1979 [1907], 148.7–35.

Sources of the Dvādasākāra *passage in epigraphs*

The *dvādasākāra* passage is presented in several ways in early Siamese epigraphs (Table 1). The first group of inscriptions preserves the passage somewhat in agreement with the printed editions except for the use of *peyyāla* at certain points.[37] This group includes the Chainat *dhammacakka* (Cn) that we discuss here, the Newark *dhammacakka* (ND),[38] and the small wheel fragment from Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat, Lopburi.[39] However, we suspect that the fragment from Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat is part of the Chainat *dhammacakka* which was brought to Lopburi under unknown circumstances at an unknown date and kept at the Wat before it was moved to its current location at Somdet Phra Narai National Museum. The Lopburi fragment and the Chainat wheel share the same size with a width of 19 cm. The floral designs and patterns of the two are almost identical as is the palaeography and textual tradition (Figures 7a, 7b). Moreover, due to a lack of any reports implying the Lopburi fragment's archaeological context or history, and the absence of any related

[37] *Peyyāla* is a sign or an indication to show that a repetitive passage has been omitted.

[38] There are minor differences between Cn and ND: for example, in ND there are no "*taṃ kho panidaṃ*" phrases or the word "*idaṃ*".

[39] For the Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat fragment, see Jean Boisselier, "Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lop'buri", *Artibus Asiae* 24, 3/4, 1961, 225–31; Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 103, Songwit Kaewsri et al (eds), *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1, Pallava and Post Pallava Scripts during Buddhist Era 12 to 14* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1986), 123–4 (in Thai) / ทรงวิทย์ แก้วศรี (บรรณาธิการ) จารึกในประเทศไทย - เล่ม ๑, อักษรปัลลวะ หลังปัลลวะ พุทธศตวรรษที่ ๑๒-๑๔, กรุงเทพฯ หอสมุดแห่งชาติ กรมศิลปากร, พิมพ์เผยแพร่ พุทธศักราช ๒๕๒๕; Pimphan Paiboon Wangcharoen et al. (eds), *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1, Pallava and Post Pallava Scripts during Buddhist Era 11 to 14*, Second Edition (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 2016), 196–7 / พิมพ์พรรณ ไพบูลย์หวังเจริญ (บรรณาธิการ) จารึกในประเทศไทย - เล่ม ๑, อักษรปัลลวะ หลังปัลลวะ พุทธศตวรรษที่ ๑๑-๑๔, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ ๒ แก้ไขเพิ่มเติม กรุงเทพฯ หอสมุดแห่งชาติ กรมศิลปากร, ๒๕๕๙.

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Table 1. *Dhammacakka* inscriptions related to the *Dvādasākāra* passage

No.	Structure	Provenance	Texts	Remarks/References
Type 1				
1.	Wheel (incomplete)	Manorom, Chainat (now in Chainatmuni National Museum)	*Dvādasākāra*, on both sides of the felloes	■ Chaeme Kaewkly, "Dharmachakra inscription and octagonal pillar", 179–82; ■ Charuk Wilaikaeo, "Archaeological work at U-Ta Pao", 4–50; ■ The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of Meuang U-Ta Pao, 10–35; ■ Bauer, "Notes on Mon epigraphy", 48–55; ■ Chaeme Kaewkly, "Pali inscriptions in Pallava script", 40–53; ■ Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 133–51; ■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016, 182–8.
2.	Wheel (complete)	Now in Newark Museum, NJ, USA	*Dvādasākāra*, on both sides of the wheel, on the space between the spokes	■ Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 106–08, Figures 6a, 6b and Cakra #6.
3.	Wheel (one small fragment)	Lopburi (now in Somdet Phra Narai National Museum)	A short sentence of *dvādasākāra* on one side (the other side is damaged and thus illegible)	■ Boisselier, "Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lop'buri", 225–31; ■ Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 103, and Cakra #33; ■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* First Edition 1986, 124–5; ■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016, 196–7. ■ This fragment may come from the Chainat wheel (No. 1 above).
Type 2				
1.	Wheel (complete)	Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom (now in the National Museum, Bangkok)	An abridged version of *dvādasākāra* and the *saccakiccakata-ñāṇa* verse	■ Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli", 221–6, translated into Thai by Subhadradis Diskul and Cham Thongkhamwan, 46–52;[a]

(*Continued*)

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Table 1. (*Continued.*)

No.	Structure	Provenance	Texts	Remarks/References
				■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* First Edition 1986, 59–64;
				■ Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 99–103, Figures 5a, 5b, Drawing 6, and Cakra #5;
				■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016, 196–7.
Type 3				
1.	Square socle (supporting the wheel)	Kampeng Sen, N. Pathom (now in Nakhon Pathom National Museum)	The *saccakiccakata-ñāṇa* verse	■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* First Edition 1986, 98–9;
				■ Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 108
				■ Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 149–50.
				■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016, 193–5.
2.	Pillar (fragment)	Sap Champa I pillar (now in Somdet Phra Narai National Musuem)	The *saccakiccakata-ñāṇa* verse, the second of four texts	■ Uraisi and Anchana, "Une nouvelle inscription de la région de Lopburi", 63–9 (in Thai) and 70–75 (in French);[b]
				■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* First Edition 1986, 116–22;
				■ Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 108–09;
				■ *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016, 172–7.

[a]Subhadradis Diskul and Cham Thongkhamwan, "Phra Dhammacakra Pāli inscription from Nakhon Pathom province, translated into Thai 'Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli provenant du Site de P'ră Păthŏm, *Artibus Asiae* 19, 3/4', in memory of Pierre Dupont", in *Corpus of Stone Inscriptions, Part 2* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1961), 46–52/"พระธรรมจักรศิลา จารึกภาษาบาลีได้มาจากจังหวัดนครปฐม", แปลโดย ม.จ. สุภัทรดิศ ดิศกุล และ ฉ่ำ ทองคำวรรณ, จาก Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli provenant du site de P'ra Pathom, *Artibus Asiae* XIX, ใน ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาคที่ 2: จารึกทวารวดี ศรีวิชัย ละโว้, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 [แก้ไขใหม่] (กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2504), 46–52.

[b]Uraisri Varasarin and Anchana Imsombat, "Une nouvelle inscription de la région de Lopburi", in *Art and Archaeology in Thailand II* (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, 1975), 63–69 (in Thai), 70–75 (in French)/อุไรศรี วรศะริน ร่วมกับ อัญชนา อึมสมบัติ, จารึกหลักใหม่จากบริเวณจังหวัดลพบุรี, ศิลปและโบราณคดีในประเทศไทย, เล่ม ๒, ๒๕๑๘, ๖๓-๖๙. กรมศิลปากร.

dhammacakka remains, we think it most likely that the two are from the same wheel that was found in Chainat.

The second type of inscription expresses the idea of *dvādasākāra* in an abridged version, for example, without the word *ariya-* or the repetitive clause starting with *cakkhum udapādi*. This type consists of the Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka*. Another group of inscriptions summarizes the nature of the Dhamma wheel of the Great Sage in a verse that we call the *saccakiccakatañāṇa* verse. This group consists of the inscription of the Kampeng Sen (Nakhon Pathom) socle (Figure 8) and part of the Sap Champa I octagonal pillar inscription. The verse also appears in the inner hub of the Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka*.

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Figure 7a. A fragment from Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahatha

Figure 7b. A fragment (1.3) from Chainat *dhammacakka*

The *saccakiccakatañāṇa* verse is not "canonical" but is a composition found, so far as we know, only in Pali and composed in *anuṭṭhubha* (*anuṣṭubh*) meter. The complete verse is preserved on the socle or the immediate base of a *dhammacakka* from Kampeng Sen in Nakhon Pathom province. Cœdès pointed out that this verse is found in the *Dhammacakkappavattana* chapters of later texts like the *Paṭhamasambodhi* and the *Sāratthasamuccaya.* The verse has been previously discussed at length,[40] and here we limit ourselves to presenting it with translation with a brief gloss to show how it neatly summarizes the *Dvādasākāra* passage.

[40] George Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli provenant du site de P'ră Păthŏm", *Artibus Asiae* 19, 3/4, 1956, 221–6; Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 148–50; Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 101–03; for references of the *Pathamasambodhi* and the *Sāratthasamuccaya*, see Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 150, notes 66 and 67 respectively.

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Figure 8. Square socle from Kampeng Sen, Nakhon Pathom and its rubbing. (Rubbing photo after the webpage of The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, https://db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/inscribe/detail/294 accessed 26 May 2024)

saccakicca katañāṇaṃ *catudhā catudhā kataṃ*

tivaṭṭaṃ *dhammacakkaṃ mahesino*
dvādasākāraṃ

> Insight into reality, tasks, and accomplishment
> Each is performed four times,
> making up three phases and twelve aspects,
> This is the Wheel of Dhamma of the Great Sage (the Buddha)[41]

We understand the verse as follows:

> The "three phases" (*tivaṭṭa*) are "knowledge" or "insight" (*ñāṇa*) into "reality" (*sacca*), the "task to be performed with regard to it" (*kicca*), and the "resultant accomplishment" (*kata*). These are applied to each of the four realities (*catudhā catudhā kataṃ*); these constitute the "twelve aspects" (*dvādasākāra*) of the knowledge into the truth, which are the Wheel of Dhamma taught by the Great Sage at the Deer Park.[42]

To return to the Type 1 inscriptions, which are the focus of this article: less than half of the Chainat *dhammacakka* (Cn), approximately 44% to 46%, survives (Figure 1). Based on the readings of these surviving fragments and the size of the wheel,[43] we provide below a reconstructed recension based on Cn. In this edition, we take into account witnesses from the Newark *dhammacakka* (ND), RV, S5, and Vin I (VinI). The space available for text leads us to conclude that the intention was not to include the *nidāna* (introduction) and the opening sections of the sutta or, most probably, the conclusion (*nigamana*). That is, the intention was to give the Buddha's words regarding the four realities without narrative interventions.

[41] Translation after Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 149, with slight modifications to be consistent with translation of the same Pali words in this article.

[42] Cf. also Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 150.

[43] The inscribed Side 1 of Cn has approximately 165 characters (147 legible and approximately 18 illegible), and with that, both sides will come to be around 330 characters. If the extant Chainat *dhammacakka* fragments total around 45%, the whole wheel might fit in around 733 characters. The whole reconstructed text has around 714 syllables.

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For the Newark *dhammacakka*, we refer to our reading (ND1) as well as the reading provided by Brown (ND2). Our reading is based on photographs received from Newark Museum.[44] As for Brown's reading, according to him the inscribed portions were read by Anchana Chittasuttiyan based on his photographs.[45] Brown also indicated that, in general including for other wheels, he did not adjust the Pali transliteration even in cases where it looked incorrect to him.[46] We do notice some differences between our readings and Brown's; for example in the orthography of *pubbe*, we read *puvve*, but Brown's edition gives it as *pubbe*.[47] Nevertheless, we take into account both our own and Brown's reading in the edition below.

The surviving textual tradition of Cn is fairly in agreement with RV. Therefore, in reconstructing the Cn recension of the *dvādasākāra* passage, we selected the readings from RV to fill the gaps in the passage. However, in doing so, we maintained the orthography of Cn and its use of *peyyāla* (*-pe-*, discussed further below). With this, we provide a "new" recension based on Cn as below. The passages extant in Cn are in bold.

Edition of the Chainat *Dhammacakka* (Cn)

idaṃ[48] dukkhaṃ[49] ariyyasaccan[50] ti me bhikkhave puvve ananussute**su dhammesu cakkhuṃ** udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

taṃ kho panida**ṃ**[51] **dukkhaṃ ariyyasaccaṃ**[52] **pariññeyyan ti me bhikkhave** puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ uda**pādi paññā**[53] **udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi**.

[54]**pariññātan ti me bhikkhave puvve**[55] **ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paṃñā**[56] **udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi**.

idaṃ dukkhasamudayo[57] **ariyya**saccan[58] ti me bhikkhave puvve **ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā**[59] **udapādi vijjā udapādi** āloko udapādi.

taṃ kho panidaṃ dukkhasamudayo[60] ariyyasaccaṃ[61] pahātavvan ti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

[44] See note 12. The Newark *dhammacakka* inscriptions appear on both sides of the wheel as a duplicate of each other. The reading here is selected from Side 1 of the wheel. If we select a reading from Side 2, it will be indicated in the apparatus.

[45] Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 106.

[46] Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 99 and note 18.

[47] Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, 106.

[48] idaṃ RV, S5, VinI] *om.* (throughout) ND1, ND2.

[49] dukkhaṃ ND1, RV S5, VinI] dukkha ND2.

[50] ariyya- ND1, ND2] ariya- RV, S5, VinI.

[51] tam kho panidaṃ RV, S5, VinI] -ṃ Cn; *om.* (throughout) ND1, ND2.

[52] ariyya- Cn, ND1, ND2] ariya- RV, S5, VinI.

[53] paññā Cn, RV, S5, Vin I] paṃ(ñā) ND1; pa(ññā) ND2. In brackets means not extant or clear in the inscriptions but based on respective editors' input. If the readings are not extant in the inscriptions from either ND1 and ND2, then they will not appear in the critical apparatus of this edition.

[54] *om.* Cn] -pe- in RV, S5, VinI; dukkhaṃ ariyyasaccaṃ ND1; dukkha ariyyasacca ND2.

[55] puvve Cn, ND1] pubbe ND2, RV, S5, VinI.

[56] paṃñā Cn] paṃ(ñā) ND1; paññā ND2, RV, S5, VinI.

[57] -samudayo Cn, RV] -samudayaṃ ND1, S5, Vin I; -samudaya ND2.

[58] ariyya- Cn, ND1, ND2] ariya- RV, S5, VinI.

[59] paññā Cn, RV, S5, VinI] paṃ(ñā) ND1; (paññā) ND2.

[60] -samudayo RV] -samudayaṃ ND1, VinI; -samudaya ND2; -samudayam(-) S5.

[61] ariyya- ND1, ND2] ariya- RV, S5, VinI.

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[62]pahīnan ti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā[63] udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

idaṃ dukkhanirodho[64] ariyyasaccan ti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā[65] **udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi**.

taṃ kho panidaṃ dukkhanirodho[66] ariyyasaccaṃ[67] sacchikātavvan ti[68] me bhikkhave puvve[69] ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

[70]**sacchikatan ti me bhikkhave puvve[71] ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ uda**pādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā[72] udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

idaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī[73] paṭipadā ariyyasaccan[74] ti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā[75] udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

taṃ kho panidaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī[76] paṭipadā ariyyasaccaṃ[77] bhāvetavvan ti me bhikkhave ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

[78]bhāvitan ti me bhikkhave puvve ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

Translation: [79]

"O monks, when I understood that 'for the noble ones this is the reality of suffering', then **vision** arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, and light arose **with regard to dhammas** that had never been heard[80] before."

"**And now, O monks, when I understood that 'for the noble ones this is the reality of suffering to be fully understood',** then vision arose, insight **arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, and light arose** with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

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[62] *om*. Cn] -pe- in RV, S5, VinI; dukkha(samudayaṃ) ariyya(sacca)ṃ ND1; (dukkhasamudya ari)yyasacca ND2.

[63] paññā RV, S5, VinI] paṃñā ND1; paññā ND2.

[64] -nirodho RV] (-niro)dhaṃ ND1; (-nirodha) ND2; -nirodham S5; -nirodhaṃ VinI.

[65] paññā RV, S5, VinI, ND2] paṃñā ND1.

[66] -nirodho Cn, RV] -ni(ro)dhaṃ ND1; (-nirodha) ND2; -nirodham S5; -nirodhaṃ VinI.

[67] ariyya- Cn] ariya- RV, S5, VinI.

[68] sacchikātavvan ti Cn] sacchi(kāta)vvan ti ND1 (side 2); *om*. ND2 (side 2); sacchikātabban ti RV, S5, VinI.

[69] puvve Cn] pubbe RV, S5, VinI.

[70] *om*. Cn] -pe- S5, VinI; dukkhanirodhaṃ ariyyasaccaṃ ND1; dukkhanirodha ariyyasa(sacca) ND2; taṃ kho panidaṃ dukkhanirodho ariyasaccaṃ RV.

[71] puvve Cn, ND1] pubbe ND2, RV, S5, VinI.

[72] paññā RV, S5, Vin I, ND2] paṃñā ND1.

[73] -gāminī S5, VinI] -gāmini- ND1, RV; -gāminī- ND2.

[74] ariyya- ND1, ND2] ariya- RV, S5, VinI.

[75] paññā RV, S5, VinI] paṃ(ñā) ND1; pa(ññā) ND2.

[76] -gāminī S5, VinI] -gāmini- ND1; -gāminī- ND2; -gāmini- RV.

[77] ariyya- *em*.] -yya- ND; ariya RV, S5, VinI.

[78] *om*. Cn] -pe- in RV, S5, VinI.

[79] The passage is translated based on the syntax of Cn, for Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation based on Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya 5*, see Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, 1844–5.

[80] "*Suta*", literally "heard" or "learned", refers to the oral nature of learning in the pre-literate society of the time of the Buddha.

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"O monks, when [this] 'has been fully understood', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never heard before."

"O monks, when I understood that **'this for the noble ones** is the reality of **the origin of suffering', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas** that had never been heard before."

"And now, O monks, when I understood that 'this for the noble ones is the reality of the origin of suffering to be abandoned', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

"O monks, when [this] 'has been fully abandoned', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

"O monks, when I understood that 'this for the noble ones is the reality of the cessation of suffering', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom **arose, knowledge arose and light arose** with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

"And now, O monks, when I understood that 'this for the noble ones is the reality of the cessation of suffering to be realized', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

"O monks, when [this] 'has been fully realized', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose **with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."**

"O monks, when I understood that 'this is the reality for the noble ones, the path leading to the cessation of suffering', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

"And now, O monks, when I understood that 'this is the reality for the noble ones, the path leading to the cessation of suffering is to be developed', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

"O monks, when [this] 'has been fully developed', then vision arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose and light arose with regard to dhammas that had never been heard before."

Textual tradition and syntax

As we can see, the textual tradition of the Cn inscription generally agrees with the current printed editions, RV and S5.[81] There are, however, some differences in syntax and the use of *peyyāla.*

One of the dissimilarities in syntax between the inscription and S5 is in these two sentences: Cn, as in RV, have *idam dukkhasamadayo ariyyasaccaṃ* and *idaṃ dukkhanirodho ariyyasaccaṃ*, while in S5 it is *idaṃ dukkhasamudayam ariyasaccaṃ* and *idaṃ dukkhanirodham ariyasaccaṃ*. This syntax in S5 has already been the subject of considerable debate. Interpretations have ranged from the proposal that the correct sentence should be *ayaṃ dukkhasamudayo ariyasaccaṃ* and *ayaṃ dukkhanirodho ariyasaccaṃ*, to the idea that *samudaya* and *nirodha*, which are masculine nouns, be taken as neuter nouns, or to the suggestion that the "m" in between *samudaya-m-ariyasaccaṃ* is a consonant sandhi.[82] As the issue of

[81] Feer used only two Sinhalese and two Burmese manuscripts (see Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya* 5, vii–viii).

[82] For the discussion of the syntax of this passage in Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya* 5, see Kenneth R. Norman, "The Four Noble Truths: a problem of Pāli syntax", in L.A. Hercus, F.B.J. Kuiper, T. Rajapatiratna and E.R. Skrzypczak (eds),

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syntax has been discussed elsewhere,[83] and also in light of different perspectives in interpreting the compound *ariya-sacca* as the reality for the spiritually ennobled, we interpret the sentence based on the syntax of the inscription which we think carries the following notions.

In Cn, *idaṃ,* a neuter pronoun, is in gender agreement with *saccaṃ*. Both are in the nominative case, which is then read as "this is the reality" (*idaṃ saccaṃ*) for the spiritually ennobled or the noble ones (*ariya-*). And what is the reality for the noble ones? It is the origin of suffering, *dukkhasamudayo,* which is to be abandoned through practice and fully abandoned when the aspirant achieves realization. Here, *dukkhasamudayo*, a masculine noun in nominative is taken as a predicate noun to *saccaṃ*. Thus, the sentence in the inscription is rendered as "the origin of suffering (*dukkhasamudayo*); this is the reality for the noble ones (*idaṃ ariyyasaccaṃ*)".

Another divergence from "standard Pali" is that the geminate *-vv-* is used in *puvve* instead of the "standard" *pubbe*. This *-vv-* is characteristic in early Pali inscriptions.[84] For example, *-vv-* is used in *pahātavvaṃ, sacch(i)kātavvaṃ*, and *bhāvetavvaṃ* on a Dvāravatī period Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka* recovered from Nakhon Pathom.[85] Von Hinüber has already noted similar usage in the Pali Vinaya folios of unknown (but because of the script, certainly mainland South Asian) provenance kept in the National Library, Kathmandu, and assigned to the eighth or the ninth century.[86] Another peculiarity in consonant gemination is *ariyya* in the inscription versus *ariya* in "standard Pali". The other orthographical dissimilarity is *paṃñā* for *paññā* (wisdom). Notably, both orthographies, *paṃñā* and *paññā*, occur inconsistently in the Cn inscription and frequently in ND1. This might suggest that the Pali of the inscription was transmitted orally rather than in written form.

A further noticeable difference is the indication of abbreviation (known as *peyyāla*, although the term is not found in the inscription) in Cn as compared to the printed edition. While the use of *peyyāla* is not consistent as to which repeated passages are omitted in the printed edition, the inscription is quite consistent in omitting the phases "*taṃ kho panidaṃ dukkhaṃ ariyyasaccaṃ* or *dukkhanirodho ariyyasaccaṃ*" in the third and ninth aspects respectively in the twelvefold *dvadasākāra* as seen above. And with this, it is also reasonable to suspect that similar respective phases, which are not extant, are also omitted in the sixth and twelfth aspects. The points at which they are omitted are indicated by punctuation marks or *daṇḍa*s (Figure 9).[87]

Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on His Sixtieth Birthday (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, 1982), 377–91; Cf. Senart (ed.), *Le Mahāvastu* III, 332.16–18, *ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayo ti idaṃ*, and *ayaṃ duḥkhanirodho ti*; Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara*, 303.21–24, *ayaṃ duḥkhasamudaya iti*, and *ayaṃ duḥkhanirodha iti*. These two Sanskrit texts do not have the *ariyasaccam* like the Pali text. Cf. Gnoli (ed.), *Saṅghabhedavastu*, 135.1–5, *idaṃ duḥkham āryasatyaṃ iti...; ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayaḥ, ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhaḥ; iyaṃ duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipat āryasatyam iti*.

[83] Norman, "A problem of Pāli syntax", 377–91.

[84] Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 128–9 and notes 19–21.

[85] Another example of the use of *-vv-* is in *pavva*[*jitena*] of an octagonal pillar (which was used to support a *dhammacakka*) recovered from Sap Champa, Lopburi, Thailand. See Uthain Wonsathit, "New readings and interpretations of the octagonal pillar inscription 2 (Sub Champa)", 2013, 1–10 (in Thai) / คำอ่านและกำรตีความใหม่จำรึกเสำแปดเหลี่ยม 2 (ซับจำปำ), published online on the website of The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, accessed 20 April 2024, https://db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/articles/detail/11959; Peter Skilling and Eng Jin Ooi, "Sap Champa: A centre of Buddhist culture in Ancient Siam and its Pāli inscription Sap Champa 3", in *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, ed. Noriyuki Kudo (Tokyo: Soka University, 2024), 44 and plate 15.

[86] Oskar von Hinüber, *The Oldest Pāli Manuscript: Four Folios of the Vinaya-Piṭaka from the National Archives, Kathmandu* (Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli II) (Mainz and Stuttgart: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur / F. Steiner, 1991), 5–8.

[87] See also Bauer, "Notes on Mon epigraphy", 54 and Figure 11 Aa.

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Figure 9. A double "stroke" *daṇḍa* (in circle) between *udapādi* and *idaṃ*

The spokes

Not many spokes of the Chainat *dhammacakka* (Cn) survive. At the museum, there are only about 12 fragments of the possible 24–26 spokes of the wheel available for examination. Only six of these bear inscriptions; the rest are badly damaged with only the floral tips remaining. Most of the surviving spokes have been detached from the wheel. As a result, their placement is arbitrary and does not reflect the original order. Despite the fragmentary nature of the inscription on the spokes, we have been able to improve on the previously published readings. Certain keywords are identified, such as *pīlana, santāpa, vipa*[*riṇa*], *saṃyo*[*ga*], *ādhipateyya, samudayasa*[*cca*], *magga, katañāṇa*, and *saccañāṇa* (Table 2).

Some of these keywords are part of the passage regarding the 16 aspects (*soḷasa ākāra*) that express the individual meanings of the four realities (see below). One part of this passage is also found in the inscriptions of the spokes of the Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka*. Cœdès has numbered the relevant spokes of the Phra Pathom Chedi wheel as numbers 13, 14, and 15, which he reads as *niyyānikahetudassanā, dhipateyyabhāvena maggasacce*, and *niyyānikahetudassanā* respectively.[88] However, we read the inscription on spoke number 14 slightly differently from Cœdès; we read *-ṭṭhena* instead of *-bhāvena*, as the inscription appears to us as only showing one conjunct consonant syllable, and we think it is *ṭṭhe* rather than the two syllables *bhāve* (Figure 10).[89]

This *soḷasa ākāra* passage can be found in the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* (a canonical work of uncertain date, perhaps late centuries BCE) and the works of the celebrated commentator Ācariya Buddhaghosa (fifth century CE), the *Visuddhimagga* (Vism), and the *Samantapāsadikā* (Vin-a), the commentary on the Vinaya (Discipline).[90]

[88] Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli", 224–5. Spoke number 15 is a repetition.

[89] Both editions (1986 and 2016) of *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1*, read it as *eta*.

[90] Caroline A.F. Rhys Davids, ed. *The Visuddhi-magga of Buddhaghosa* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1975 [1920–21]), 212, 1–5; J. Takakusu and Makoto Nagai (eds), *Samantapāsādikā, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka* I (London: The Pali Text Society, 1975 [1924]), 124.20–24; Cf. Rhys Davids (ed.), *The Visuddhi-magga*, 691.12–18; Arnold C. Taylor (ed.), *Paṭisambhidāmagga II* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1979 [1907]), 104.14–105.10; Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 137–46; Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli", 226.

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Table 2 Inscriptions on the spokes

No.	Spokes	Side 1 (above)	Side 2 (below)
1		*samudayasa*(*cca*)	*ādhipateyya*
2.		vi(pa)[riṇa][a]	*santāpa*
3.		*Magga*	(broken off)
4.		*saccañāṇa*	*pīlana*
5.		*saṃyo*[*ga*]	(broken off)
6.		*katañā*[*ṇa*]	(no inscription)

[a]We read the script as *vi* instead of *dhi* in the previous published reading as *dhi* is slightly broader in its circular shape.

For the discussion of the different list of the 16 aspects (*ṣoḍaśākārā*) related to the four realities in the Sanskrit Vaibhāṣika tradition, see the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (ABKBh) (Chapter 7 verse 13) in Prahlad Pradhan (ed.),

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Figure 10. Spoke number 14 (as in Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli", 224, Figure 2) of the Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka*. The picture is inverted (as reading of the inscriptions on the wheel is in counter-clockwise).
Line above: *dhipateyya.*
Line below: *ṭṭhena maggasacca*

Skilling has discussed this particular passage in detail.[91] For our purpose here, it suffices to show how these keywords fit into the text, referring to the *soḷasa ākāra* passage from the *Visuddhimagga* (*the Path of Purification*). The extant inscriptions from Cn are highlighted in bold, and the readings from the Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka* are underlined:

> ***pīḷana**-saṅkhata-**santāpa-vipa**riṇām'-aṭṭhena vā dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ,*
> āyūhana-nidāna-**saṃyo**ga-palibodh'-aṭṭhena samudayaṃ,
> nissaraṇa-vivekāsaṅkhata-amataṭṭhena nirodhaṃ,
> *niyyānika-hetu-dassan**ādhipateyya**ṭṭhena maggaṃ*[92]

The reality of the noble ones regarding:

> Suffering has the senses of (1) **oppressing** (2) being compounded (3) **burning**, and (4) **change**.
> Origin has the senses of (5) accumulating, (6) source, (7) **bond**, and (8) obstructing.
> Cessation has the senses of (9) final release, (10) solitude, (11) being uncompounded, and (12) free from death.
> The path has the senses of (13) way out, (14) cause, (15) seeing, and (16) **predominance**.[93]

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* expresses these 16 aspects in a slightly different way to the passage above and utilizes the same keywords of these 16 aspects with the exception of *saññoga*

Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1967), 399 and its translation in Louis de La Vallée Poussin (trans.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu, Vol IV, Translated from French into English by Leo M. Pruden* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1990), 1110–16. See also Alex Wayman, "The sixteen aspects of the four noble truths and their opposites", *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 3/2, 1980, 67–76.

[91] Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 137–46. The discussion includes comparing these 16 aspects in the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, and the *Vimuttimagga* (preserved in Tibetan and the translation from Chinese).

[92] Rhys Davids (ed.), *The Visuddhi-magga*, 212.1–5.

[93] Cf. Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 138.

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instead of *saṃyoga*[94] in the *Visuddhimagga*.[95] At the moment, it is impossible to determine from which text the editor or scribe selected the readings for the inscriptions on the spokes. Despite the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* being included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* of the Pali Suttapiṭaka, stylistically it is related to the Abhidhamma and commentarial literature.[96] Furthermore, the date of the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* has not been determined, even approximately.[97] Nevertheless, what is certain is that the scribe has selected a composition related to the four realities which are in line with the *dvādasākāra* passage.

Other keywords invoke the four realities, like *samudayasacca, magga* likely to have been intended to be *maggasacca*,[98] emphasizing again the four realities, while the spokes referring to *dukkhasacca* and *nirodhasacca* are not extant. On the other hand, *saccañāṇa* and *kataññāṇa* are parts of the three phrases (*tipavaṭṭa*) discussed above, while the middle referring to *kiccañāṇa* does not survive.

The octagonal pillar

Inscriptions of the Chainat octagonal pillar

Script	Southeast Asian Brāhmī
Language	Pali
Date	Seventh century CE (twelfth-century Buddhist Era) (*Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition 2016)
Sides/Lines	Around the octagonal pillar. Four lines of inscriptions are extant
Support	Stone
Dimensions	Width at each flank of the octagonal pillar, 16 cm; Length (longest extant), 60 cm.
Number	CN. 15
Date of discovery	5 October 1988
Place of discovery	Village No. 5, Hang Nam Sakhon, Manorom District, Chainat Province, Thailand
Discoverer	Dr Samnuan Palawatwichai
Present location	Chainatmuni National Museum, Chainat
Rubbing	Figure 11
Images	Figures 11, 12, and 15.

Publication history

1. Chaeme Kaewkly, "Dharmachakra inscription and octagonal pillar", 179–82;
2. Charuk Wilaikaeo, "Archaeological work at U-Ta Pao", 4–50;
3. The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of U-Ta Pao, 33;
4. Christian Bauer, "Notes on Mon epigraphy", 48–55 (palaeographic analysis);
5. Chaeme Kaewkly, "Pali inscriptions in Pallava script", 40–53;
6. Peter Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 133–51;
7. *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1,* Second Edition, 182–3;
8. U-tain Wongsathit, "Octagonal pillar inscription from Chainat", 56–77.

[94] An orthographic variation likely due to scribal usage.

[95] Taylor (ed.), *Paṭisambhidāmagga II*, 104.14–105.10; a similar passage is found in Rhys Davids (ed.), *The Visuddhimagga*, 691.12–18.

[96] See Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 139 and note 23.

[97] A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000), 315; Warder in Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli (transl.), *The Path of Discrimination* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga*) (London: the Pali Text Society, 1982), xxix–xxxix.

[98] *Magga* here could also be part of the *soḷasa ākāra* passage.

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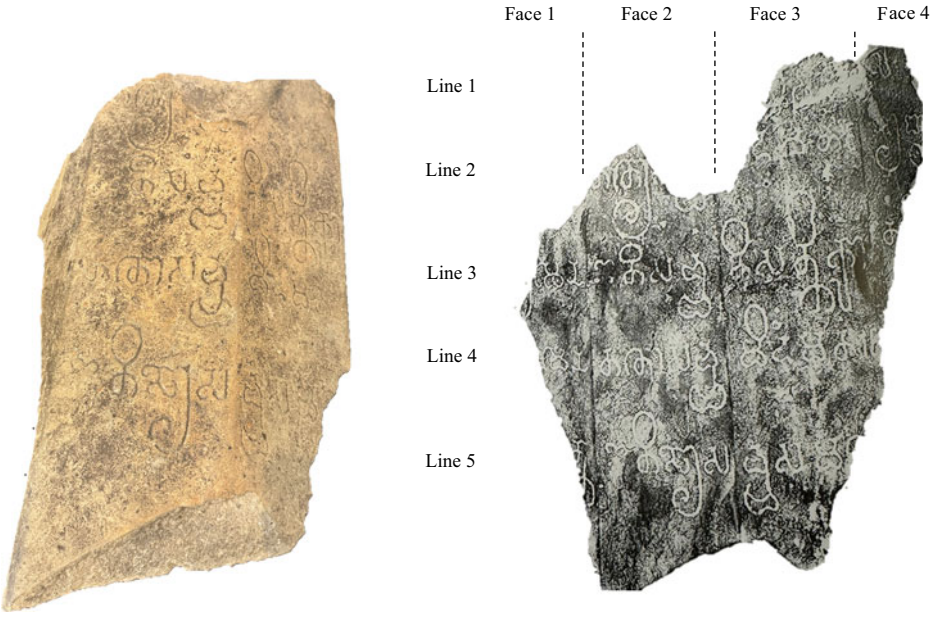

Figure 11. Fragment of the octagonal pillar and its rubbing. (Rubbing photo after *Inscriptions in Thailand Volume 1*, Second Edition 2016, 182)

Readings

Lines	Face 1	Face 2	Face 3	Face 4
1	–	–	+++[a]	+
2		tato[saccami]	da[ṃ] mataṃ |[b]	nābā[c]
3	yāmena[d]	iti saccaṃ	visattikā	taṃ[e] [v]i
4	mena	tato sacca	midaṃ mataṃ ‖	
5	tta	iti so sa	ccasama[t]o	

[a]Broken lines indicate the presence of a line of inscription, but it is too fragmentary to read.
[b]The punctuation *daṇḍa* (|) indicates that the reading in the line ends here and is not followed by *nābā* in the next face.
[c]Previously it was read as *tobā* (Chaeme Kaewkly, "Dharmachakra inscription and octagonal pillar", 181, and "Pali inscriptions in Pallava script", 47), Skilling noted that the reading could not be correct but did not propose any solution (Skilling, "New inscriptions from South-east Asia", 136 and note 12). Nevertheless, U-tain Wongsathit got it right with *nābā* (U-tain Wongsathit, "Octagonal pillar inscription from Chainat", 63). We now see that the reading is *nābā*, see Figure 12 .
[d]*Yā* is not in the rubbing, but from a small detached piece now restored.
[e]*Taṃ* is not in a parallel position with "*visattikā*" but slightly higher,

Sources of the text on the pillar

As pointed out by Skilling,[99] the counterparts of the inscriptions on the octagonal pillar occur in two commentarial works of Buddhaghosa, the *Sammohavinodanī* (Vibh-a, *the Dispeller of Delusion*) and the *Visuddhimagga* (Vism), when he explains the phrase "*idaṃ dukkhan ti bhikkhave tathaṃ etam avitatham etam anaññatatham etaṃ*" (Monks, this suffering is real, not unreal, not otherwise) from the *Discourse on Reality* (*Tatha*) of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.[100] The verses could also be traced in an early sixth-century commentary by Mahānāma, the *Saddhammapakāsinī* (Paṭis-a), a commentary on the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* (Paṭis). At the

[99] Skilling, "New Inscriptions from South-east Asia", 146–151 and note 52.
[100] Feer (ed.), *Samyutta Nikāya 5*, 430.24–25 or SN56.20

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Figure 12. Face 4, on the centre is *nābā*, and on its left is the *daṇḍa*. Below *nābā* is the character *taṃ*, and part of the *i* of *vi*.

beginning of Paṭis-a, Mahānāma explains that Sāriputta, one of the Buddha's chief disciples, composed the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* in order to explain the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, and thus, according to Norman, indicating that the main theme to attain liberation is by understanding the four realities.[101] The passage on the octagonal pillar is also found in a text that is *later* than the inscription, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, commentary on the *Samantapāsadikā*, (Vin-ṭ), which is a sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the Vinaya. The *Sāratthadīpanī* was composed probably in the second half of the twelfth century during the reign of Parākkamabāhu I (1153–86 CE) of Laṅkā.[102] In the printed editions, the passage is as below:

1. Vism, Rhys Davids (ed.), *The Visuddhi-magga,* 496.17–30; Khemacari Thera et al. (eds), (Thai-script Syāmaraṭṭha edition), *Visuddhimagga Pakaraṇavisesa*, 79.14–80.3.[103]

[101] Arnold C. Taylor (ed.), *Paṭisambhidāmagga I* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1979 [1905]), 1–2; Kenneth R. Norman, *Pāli Literature including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993), 132; on Mahānāma, see *ibid.,* 132–3; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 143–5.

[102] Von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, 172–3.

[103] *Visuddhimaggassa nāma pakaraṇavisessa tatiyo bhāgo khemacārittherena dhammatilokena mahādhātuvihāravāsinā ādo sodhito mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaye ganthādhikārattherehi punapi sodhito* [Treatise named *Visuddhimagga*, Part

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2. Vibh-a, Buddhadatta, ed. the *Sammoha-vinodanī*, 85.23–86.1 (similar passage as Vism with a small variant in the fifth verse, *dukkhādisv' avisesena* instead);[104]
3. Paṭis-a I, Joshi (ed.), the *Saddhammmappakāsinī*, 63.6–28;[105]
4. Vin-ṭ, Kitti Sobhana Thera et al. (eds) (Thai-script Syāmaraṭṭha edition), the *Sāratthadīpanī Vinayaṭīkā Samantapāsādīkā Vaṇṇanā*, 76;[106] the *Mahavagga-ṭīkā*, 1.14 in *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Tipiṭaka Version 4* (CST4).

The passage contains five verses, one for each of the four realities in due order followed by a concluding verse. Below we provide the five verses from the *Visuddhimagga* edited by Caroline A.F. Rhys Davids. The phrases extant on the pillar inscription are presented in bold.

Nābādhakaṃ yato dukkhaṃ, bādhakattaniyāmena	dukkhā aññaṃ na bādhakaṃ, **tato** saccam i**daṃ mataṃ**.
Taṃ vi**nā** nāññato dukkhaṃ, dukkhahetuni**yāmena**	na hoti na ca taṃ tato, **iti saccaṃ visattikā**.
Nāññā nibbānato santi santabhāvaniyā**mena**	santaṃ na ca na taṃ yato, **tato saccam idam mataṃ**.
Maggā aññaṃ na niyyānaṃ tacchaniyyānabhāva**tta**[107]	aniyyāno na cāpi so **iti so saccasam[m]a**to.[108]
Iti tacchāvipallāsa- dukkhādisvapi sesena	bhūtabhāvaṃ catusvapi saccaṭṭham āhu paṇḍitā ti.

Translation

Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli translated these verses in his translation of the *Visuddhimagga, the Path of Purification*, in 1956, first published by Ananda Semage of Colombo and later by the Buddhist Publication Society (BPS).[109] An earlier English translation of these verses was provided by

III, first edited by Khemacāri Thera Dhammatiloka, resident at Wat Mahādhātu, and revised by the Senior monk editors of Mahāmakuṭa Rājavidyālaya / วิสุทฺธิมคฺคสฺส นาม ปกรณวิเสสฺส ตตีโย ภาโค เขมจาริตฺเถเรน ธมฺมตีโลเกน มหาธาตุวิหารวาสินา อาโท โสธิโต มหามกุฏราชวิทฺยาลเย คนฺถาธิการตฺเถเรหิ ปุนปี โสธิโต ๒๕๐๙ (1966). For the commentary to the *Visuddhimagga,* see first edited by Khemacāri Thera et al. (eds), (the Syāmaraṭṭha edition), the *Visuddhimagga-saṃvaṇṇana Mahāṭīkāsammata* Part 2 (Bangkok: Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya, 1965), 176–7 (*Paramatthamañjusā visuddhimagasaṃvaṇṇanāya mahāṭīkāsammatāya (dutiyo bhāgo)*, first edited by *khemacārittherena dhammatilokācariyena mahādhātuvihāravāsinā ābhākarādīhi saddhivihārikehī saha ādo sodhito mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaye ganthādhikārattherehi puna sodhito*, 1965) ปรมตฺถมญฺชูสาย นาม วิสุทฺธิมคฺคสังวณฺณนาย มหาฏีกาสมฺมตาย (ทุตีโย ภาโค) เขมจาริตฺเถเรน ธมฺมตีโลกาจริเยน มหาธาตุวิหารวาสินา อาภากราทีหิ สทฺธิวิหาริเกหิ สห อาโท โสธิโต มหามกุฏราชวิทฺยาลเย คนฺถาธิการตฺเถเรหิ ปุน โสธิโต ๒๕๐๘. [*Sāratthadīpanī nāma vinayaṭīkā samantapāsādikāvaṇṇanā*, first edition by Kittisobhana Thera Dhammakosācariya; second edition revised by the Senior monastic editors of Mahāmakuṭa Rājavidyālaya, a printing sponsored by a large number of the residents of the country of Syām, 1961.]

[104] A.B. Buddhadatta Thero (ed.), *Sammoha-vinodanī, Abhidhamma-piṭake, Vibhangatthakathā* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1980 [1923]).

[105] C.V. Joshi (ed.), *Saddhammappakāsinī, Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga I* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1979 [1933]).

[106] *Sāratthadīpanī nāma vinayaṭīkā samantapāsādikā vaṇṇanā kittisobhanattherena dhammakosācariyena sodhitā paṭhme vāre mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaye ganthādhikārattherehi puna sodhito dutiyo vāre rājappamukhena syāmaraṭṭhavāsinā mahājanena muddāyita* (1961) / สารตฺถทีปนี นาม วินยฏีกา สมนฺตปาสาทิกา วณฺณนา กิตฺติโสภนตฺเถเรน ธมฺมโกสาจริเยน โสธิตา ปฐเม วาเร มหามกุฏราชวิทฺยาลเย คนฺถาธิการตฺเถเรหิ ปุน โสธิโต ทุติเย วาเร ราชปปมุเขน สฺยามรฏฺฐวาสินา มหาชเนน มุทฺทายิตา ๒๕๐๔ (1961).

[107] -tta Cn] ttā Vbhi-a.

[108] -sama- Cn] -samma- Vbhi-a.

[109] Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli (trans.), *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga) by Bhadantācariya Buddhaghosa* (Colombo: Buddhist Publication Society, 2010 [4th edition, first edition 1956]), 508; for the list of translations into other languages, see p. xix.

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Pe Maung Tin in his 1931 translation of the *Visuddhimagga* as the *Visuddhimagga, The Path of Purity*, and published by The Pali Text Society in three volumes.[110] The passage here seems to provide the ontological and epistemological meaning of the word *sacca*, which we interpret in this article as "reality". Here, we reproduce Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli's translation with minor modifications, such as replacing the word "truth" with "reality" for *sacca*.[111] Phrases that are extant in the inscription are highlighted.[112]

There is no pain **but is affliction**,
And naught that is not pain afflicts:
This certainty that is afflicts
Is what is reckoned here as reality.

No other source of pain than **this,**[113]
Nor aught that source provides but pain:
This **certainty** in causing pain
Is why craving[114] **is considered reality**.

There is no peace except *nibbāna*,
Nibbāna cannot but be peace;
This **certainty** that it is peace
Is what is reckoned here as reality.

No outlet other than the path,
Nor fails the path to be the outlet:
Its **status** as the very outlet
Has made it recognized as reality.

This real infallibility
Which is their true essential core,
Is what the wise declare to be
Reality's meaning common to all four.

Associated finds

Two lions

Two lion sculptures (Figures 13 and 14) were found among the fragments of the Chainat *dhammacakka*. Their design and features belong to the "Dvāravatī style" of art. The two raised forearms of these lions closely resemble the lion-like relief at the end of a stone fragment thought to be part of the Buddha's throne found at Wat Phra Meru in the ancient city of Nakhon Pathom.[115] A similar raised forearm is also depicted on the stucco lion sculpture

[110] Pe Maung Tin (trans.), *The Path of Purity, Being A Translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, Part I–III* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1931), 588–9.

[111] Ñāṇamoli (trans.), *The Path of Purification*, 508.

[112] As Ñāṇamoli does not translate the passage word by word, the highlighted portions are just indicative of the inscriptions.

[113] Replacing "craving" from Ñāṇamoli's translation with "this" (*taṃ*).

[114] Replacing "it" with "craving" (*visattikā*).

[115] The museum identifies the lion-like sculpture as Vayalaka, a hybrid animal. The fragment is now preserved in the Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum (Accession no. 626/2519[1976]), see Prapassorn Posrithong (ประภัสสร โพธิ์ศรีทอง) *Phrapathom Chedi National Museum* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1999), 84–5 / ประภัสสร โพธิ์ศรีทอง, พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ พระปฐมเจดีย์, กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, ๒๕๔๒ (in English and Thai).

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Figure 13. Lion 1. Size: 28 cm (H) and 17 cm (W)

found in Stupa No. 1 at Khok Mai Den and a lion sculpture kept at U-Thong National Museum in Suphanburi province.[116] The head and mane of these two lions of Chainat closely resemble the one found at the northern side of Stupa No. 3 at Khok Mai Den.[117] On the evidence of its stucco art, Dvāravatī was a veritable pride of lions, engagingly fashioned in striking poses with lively and expressive faces.[118]

Their presence brings to mind the relief image of the four-lion capital (only three depicted) surmounted by a *dhammacakka* displayed on the southern gateway of the first-century CE Sanchi stupa No. 3.[119] The angled-flat structure above the two Chainat lions indicates that it could be the abacus that supported the holding stone bracket and the wheel (Figure 15). This arrangement could be similar to the structure of four pot-bellied dwarfs on a rectangular pillar supporting the architrave of the same Sanchi stupa gateway,

[116] Banjop Tiamtat, "Report on excavation of ancient objects", in *Some Recently Discovered Sites of Dvāravatī Period and Report on Excavation of Ancient Objects in Khok Mai Den, Phayuha Khiri District, Nakhon Sawan Province* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1965), 19–26, Map 1–2, and Figures 1–96 / บรรจบ เทียมทัด "รายงานการขุดแต่งโบราณวัตถุสถาน" ใน โบราณวัตถุสมัยทวารวดีแห่ง ใหม่ และ รายงานการขุดแต่งโบราณวัตถุสถาน ณ บ้านโคกไม้เดน อำเภอพยุหะคีรี จังหวัดนครสวรรค์. 2508. กรมศิลปากร.

[117] Banjop Tiamtat, "Report on excavation of ancient objects", 22 and Figure 78.

[118] Lions were abundant in early central Thai art. See the examples in stucco in Pierre Baptiste and Thierry Zéphir, *Dvāravati. Aux sources du bouddhisme en Thaïlande* (Paris: Musée Guimet, 2009) (in French): 151, Figures 41–43 (Chedi Cula Pathon); 167, Figure 67 (Khok Mai Den); 177, Figure 9 (Khok Mai Den, U-Thong and Khu Bua); 200, Figures 90 and 91 (Khu Bua). For shared characteristics among some lion sculptures of the second half of the first millennium in Śrī Kṣetra (Pyu), Kyontu (Mon of Burma), and Dvāravatī (Siam), see Charlotte Galloway, "Ways of seeing a Pyu, Mon and Dvaravati artistic continuum", *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 30, 2010, 73–5; for selected examples of lions in Champa (Vietnam) with raised forearms, see Thierry Zéphir and Pierre Baptiste (eds), *Trésors d'art du Vietnam: la sculpture du Champa, Ve–XVe siècles* (Paris: Musée des arts asiatiques Guimet, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), 248–50 and catalogue numbers 37–41.

[119] The four-lion capitals of Aśoka at Sanchi and Sarnath are thought to have carried *dhammacakka* as well.

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Figure 14. Lion 2. Size: 28 cm (H), 19 cm (W)

just above the wheel and lion relief. As the Chainat *dhammacakka* structural complex is very fragmentary, it is uncertain whether there were four lions in the original structure of which only two survived or whether the original design included only two lions. If there were only two lions, either the other two would have represented different animals or there may have just been a filler structure with floral design.[120] A single unprovenanced fragment in the Somdet Phra Narai National Museum in Lopburi points to the existence of similar iconographic conceptions elsewhere in the adjacent cultural areas. Nevertheless, this reveals an Indic referentiality of *dhammacakka* complex even if it reveals the concretization of local inspiration.

Holding stone bracket

A stone block, thought to be part of the holding stone bracket that held the wheel in an upright position, was also recovered (Figure 16). The block consists of a spoke, with one side of the spoke bearing the inscription *kataññā*[*ṇa*] (No. 6, Table 2 above). The design of

[120] One of the boundary (*sīmā*) stones found in Phnom Kulen, an eighth- to ninth-century archaeological site located 30 km northeast of Angkor, Siem Reap province, northwest Cambodia, depicting a *dhammacakka* placed above a *kumbha* (a pot instead of a pillar) flanked by a lion and a wild boar (Figure 4, Photos 127 and 128 in J. Boulbet and B. Dagens, "Les sites archéologiques de la région du Bhnaṃ Gūlen (Phnom Kulen)", *Arts Asiatiques* 27, 1973, 44 and 72, in French). Another *sīmā* stone in the same vicinity shows a *dhammacakka* flanked below by a monkey and an elephant (*ibid.*, 43–4 and Photo 126). See also Stephen A. Murphy, "*The Buddhist Boundary Markers of Northeast Thailand and Central Laos, 7th–12th Centuries CE: Towards an Understanding of the Archaeological, Religious and Artistic Landscapes of the Khorat Plateau*" (PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2010), 331–2 and Figures 5.160–5.163.

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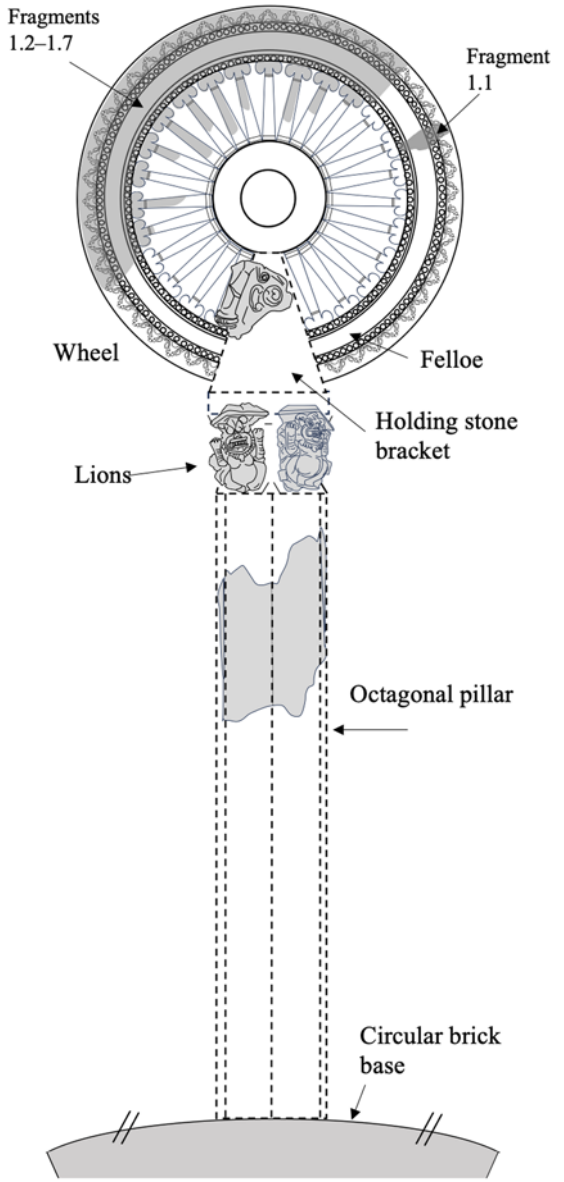

Figure 15. Artistic conceptualization of the Chainat *dhammacakka* and supporting pillar (not to scale). Shaded areas indicate extant portions.

the holding stone bracket is difficult to determine due to its fragmentary nature, but most likely it is triangular in shape and part of it seems to be a sort of floral design.[121]

[121] *Dhammacakka* holding stone brackets, usually triangular in shape, are generally adorned with various designs, for example, of floral, divine figurines, lion heads and other animals. See Dhanit Yupho, *Dharmacakra*, Figures 7, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 26.

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Figure 16. Part of the holding stone bracket and a spoke

Remnants of a deer statue

The excavation report mentions that fragmentary pieces of the mouth, nose and ear of a deer statue were recovered.[122] We have not had the chance to examine these pieces as they are not on display at the museum. Nevertheless, a pair of deer, symbolizing the Deer Park in Sarnath where the Buddha delivered the first sermon on *Dhammacakkappavattana* which carries the message of the four realities has been associated with the *dhammacakka* wheel elsewhere in Thailand. For example, the Phra Pathom Chedi *dhammacakka* in Nakhon Pathom is accompanied by a deer.[123]

Conclusion

The four realities do not signify or have any special relation to the Theravāda tradition alone. They are shared by all the known Āgama/Sūtra traditions and available Vinayas. They are also shared by the known scholastic traditions, where they are set into different exegetical interpretations. In addition to the Theravāda systems explicated in the *Vibhaṅga, Visuddhimagga*, and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and their commentaries as seen in this article, there are detailed Vaibhāṣika systems in the *Abhidharmakośa* and other works;[124] and a Sāṃmitīya system recorded in Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya*, preserved in Tibetan translation;[125] the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, the *Saṃghabhedavastu* preserved in

[122] The Fine Arts Department, Archaeology of Meuang U-Ta Pao, 183, figures on page 22.

[123] For deer statues found in other parts of Thailand, see Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law*, Figures 69 to 75.

[124] For example, in chapter 7, verse 13 in Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, 399, see note 33.

[125] See Ui Hakuju, Suzuki Munetada, Kanakura Yenshō, and Tada Tōkan (eds), *Tōhoku Tōh, A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-gyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)* (Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934), 3897, འདུས་བྱས་དང་འདུས་མ་བྱས་རྣམ་པར་དེས་པ། · 'dus byas dang 'dus ma byas rnam par nges pa: Chapter 21, An analysis of the realities according to the tradition of the Ārya-Sāmmatīya school, and Chapter 12, An analysis of the four realities (based

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Sanskrit;[126] and the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya preserved in Chinese.[127] Epigraphic examples of the four realities continue to come to light, for example, in 1991, a stone slab inscription was found at Cave II in Bagh, Madhya Pradesh, India, detailing the four realities in a Middle Indic language.[128]

The four realities are the basis of much Buddhist exegesis. Vaipulya/Mahāyāna *dharmaparyāya*s elaborate on the four realities, for example, the *Prajñāpāramitā*s, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, the *Bodhisatvapiṭaka*, and many others. Nāgārjuna presents a robust exposition of the realities in relation to emptiness in his *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*.[129]

The epigraphic record shows that the Buddhist intellectuals of Dvāravatī valued the four realities highly and were familiar with the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* system. They appear to have adopted the four realities as the didactic frame of their Buddhism as exemplified in the *saccakiccakataññāṇa* verse. Their epigraphic use of categories from the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is noteworthy. The Dvāravatī inscriptions count among the oldest evidence for this work of scholasticism: they can hardly prove or even suggest that the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* circulated in Southeast Asia in its present form, but they do prove a familiarity with its teachings. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is unknown to other schools apart from the Theravāda either as a system or a work, but at least by the time of the Mahāvihāra (of Sri Lanka) master Buddhaghosa the work had been canonized by inclusion in the Theravāda *Khuddaka-nikāya*. Although the production of ornate and monumental *dhammacakka*s is not seen in other cultures where Theravāda was practised, the use of Pali, both on the *dhammacakka*s themselves and in adjacent/nearby inscriptions found at the same sites, we may surmise that the production of *dhammacakka*s was a unique ritual or devotional practice characteristic and distinctive of the Theriya culture of ancient Dvāravatī.

In conclusion, the four *sacca* were iconic in ancient Dvāravatī, to use this tired term overworked by current fashion. They are iconic in the sense of exemplary teachings and iconic in terms of visual representations as *dhammacakka*s and attendant deer and/or lions. This iconography developed in India, where it is seen in stone reliefs from south to north, and is eventually exemplified in the symbolic conjunction of the Dhamma wheel flanked by a pair of deer, for example, in the clay seals of the great *vihāra* of Nālandā in northern India and on the stone sculptures of Phanagiri in Telangana. To this day the motif graces the central roof-ridge of Tibetan monasteries around the world.

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on the Vaibhāṣika tradition). For more information about the text, see Peter Skilling, "The Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrīmitra", *Buddhist Studies Review* 4/1, 1987, 3–23. The text is also listed in the Otani catalogue of the Tibetan canon, Ota 5865.

[126] Gnoli (ed.), *Saṅghabhedavastu*, 135–9.

[127] Shisong-lü (十誦律) Taishô 1435 (*Pañcaśatavinayasaṃgīti*).

[128] See Vincent Tournier, "A 4th/5th-century sūtra of the Saṁmitīya canon? On the so-called 'Continental Pāli' inscription from Devnimori", in *Proceedings of the Third International Pali Studies Week, Paris 2018*. (Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka Volume 18. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2023), 441–2 and 470 (Figure 13).

[129] In Chapter 24, Analysis of the realities of the noble ones (*āryasatyaparīkṣā*), see Mark Siderits and Shōryū Katsura, *Nāgārjuna's Middle Way, Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2013), 267–88.

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